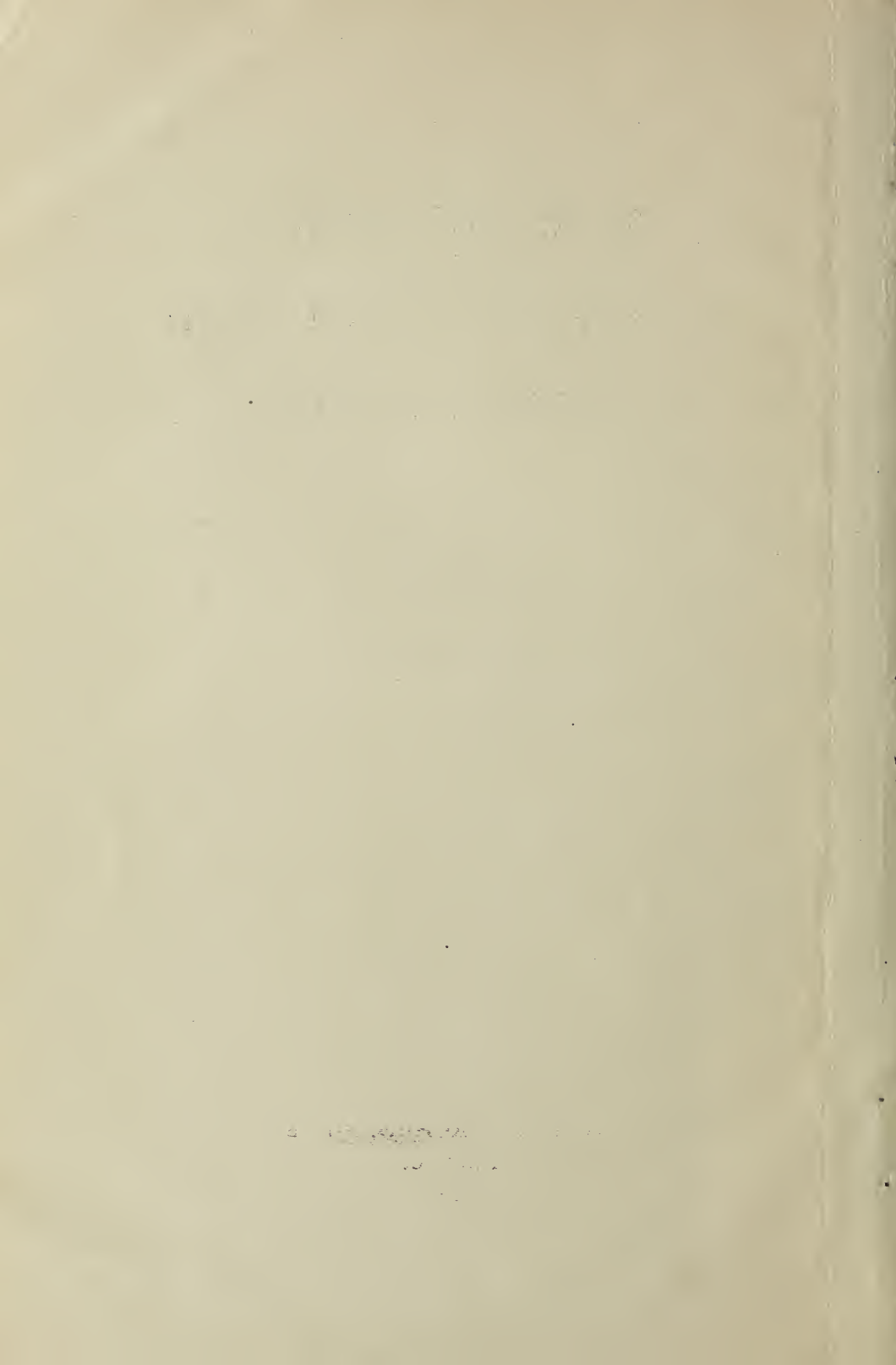


THE INJUSTICE
OF A
LITERACY TEST FOR
IMMIGRANTS

[Second Edition]

By MAX J. KOHLER, LL. B.
NEW YORK
1912



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PRESIDENT TAFT'S VIEWS ON IMMIGRATION

(Extract from a speech delivered by the President at Cambridge Springs, Pa., on Saturday, October 26, 1912, at the dedication of a Polish College.)

I cannot close without some reference to the question of immigration and the attitude that ought to be taken by the lovers of our country. I am one of those who believe that America is greatly better in her present condition, and will have still greater advantage in the future, because of the infusion into our body, politic and social, of the sturdy peasantry and the better educated classes who have come to us from the nations of Europe. In the actual development of the country, it would have been impossible for us to have done what has been done in the construction of railroads, in the development of our farms, and in the establishment of our industries, had we not had the strong arms and the steady heads of those who have come to us from continental Europe. Assuming that the foundation of our country and the original people here were from the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, and treating the foreign question as one now of immigration from continental Europe, I repeat that I do not share in the fear that our citizenship is ultimately likely to suffer by the coming from other continental countries for the purpose of permanent settlement of any of the peoples who are now coming. We have a right to have, and ought to have, immigration laws that shall prevent our having thrown upon us the undesirable members of other communities, like the criminals, imbeciles, the insane and the permanently disabled, but we have a vast territory here not yet filled, in the development of which we need manual labor of a constant and persistent kind, and I think we have shown in the past, as we shall show in the future, that our system of education is sufficiently thorough and sufficiently attractive to those who come here that they of all others avail themselves of it with promptness and success. I have an abiding faith in the influence of our institutions upon all who come here, no matter how lacking in education they may be, if they have the sturdy enterprise to leave home and to come out to this country to seek their fortunes. It is not the uneducated who scoff at education—they value it. They sacrifice everything to enable their children to obtain that which they were denied. The second generation of a sturdy but uneducated peasantry, brought to this country and raised in an atmosphere of thrift and hard work, and forced by their parents into school to obtain an instrument for self-elevation, has always contributed to the strength of our people, and they will continue to do so. The difficulty that they do not speak our language makes the process of amalgamation slower perhaps, but it does not prevent it.

I am proud of our country that we have had its doors swinging easily open for the industrious peoples of other countries that have sought ours for greater happiness and quicker development, and he would be blind indeed who would deny that a substantial part of our progress is due to this policy of generosity toward those who are seeking the atmosphere of freedom and the land of equal opportunity.

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DIRECT

PRESIDENT-ELECT WILSON'S VIEWS ON IMMIGRATION

23 W. STATE ST., TRENTON, N. J.
October 21, 1912.

MY DEAR DR. ADLER:

* * * I am in substantial agreement with you about the immigration policy which the country ought to observe. I think that this country can afford to use and ought to give opportunity to every man and woman of sound morals, sound mind and sound body who comes in good faith to spend his or her energies in our life, and I should certainly be inclined, so far as I am concerned, to scrutinize very jealously any restrictions that would limit that principle in practice. * * *

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Dr. Cyrus Adler,
Philadelphia, Pa.

The Injustice of a Literacy Test for Immigrants

The Dillingham Bill (S. 3175) which has passed the Senate and the Burnett Bill (H. R. 22527) which has been reported to the House of Representatives, represent a radical departure from the historical policy of our Government respecting immigration legislation. These bills, if enacted into law, would for the first time restrict immigration, whereas, heretofore, all legislation has been regulative. The method resorted to for the restriction of immigration in both of these bills is that of a literacy test, which is the sole provision of the Burnett Bill.

In addition, the Dillingham Bill contains many radical innovations. Principal among these are (1) Section 3, which provides for the exclusion of all persons not eligible to naturalization; (2) Section 18, which requires that all aliens admitted to the United States shall be provided with certificates of admission and identity; (3) the abolition of the time-limit of three years within which persons may be deported; and (4) the consolidation of the general immigration statutes with the Chinese exclusion laws. There are other minor changes from existing law which tend to render the admission of aliens difficult when not excluding them entirely.

In support of the adoption of legislation to restrict immigration, its advocates base their arguments in the main upon the report of the Immigration Commission. This is a report in forty-odd volumes, published in a limited edition, and there has been no opportunity for the Commission to properly digest the material collected by it.

With respect to the opportunity for properly weighing the material gathered by the Commission, its own editorial adviser, Professor H. Parker Willis, has stated: (*Survey*, Jan. 7, 1911, p. 571.)

"With so much actually collected in the way of detailed data, and with but scant time in which to summarize these data; lacking moreover a sufficient number of trained writers and statisticians to study the information acquired and to set it down with a due proportion of properly guarded inference, it is a fact that much of the Commission's information is still undigested, and is presented in a form which affords no more than a foundation for the work of future inquirers. Such inquirers ought immediately to take the data in hand before they become obsolete and while they still represent existing conditions with substantial accuracy. Pending the results of such inquiry, however, those who would judge what the Immigration Commission has done and would fain find there material in support of their own preconceived ideas should be careful. And those who wish simply to appraise the work of the Commission, with a view to forming some well-founded conclusion as to its meaning and its

merit, must confine themselves to very narrow limits. They must recognize that only in the broadest way can conclusions as yet be drawn from the masses of statistics and the very general textual treatment to be presented in the reports of the Commission. The question may be raised whether the Commission would not have done better had it limited the field work more narrowly, and increased the relative amount of expenditure devoted to 'overhead work' in the office. It did not do so, however, and the result has been, instead of a small and finished study, a large and uncompleted body of data."

Nevertheless, a majority of the Immigration Commission recommend the restriction of immigration and the adoption of the literacy test as the most feasible method of accomplishing this purpose.

The Dillingham Bill provides for the exclusion of all aliens over 16 years of age who cannot read and write the English or some other language, but permits an admissible alien to bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, whether they can read and write or not. The test of an immigrant's ability to read and write is to be applied by requiring him to read and write twenty to twenty-five words of the Constitution of the United States.

The Burnett Bill excludes all aliens over sixteen years of age, who are unable to read English or the language or dialect of some other country, and permits an admissible alien to bring in or send for his father or grandfather over fifty-five years of age, his wife, his mother his grandmother, his unmarried or widowed daughter whether able to read or not.

It will be noted that the Dillingham Bill requires reading and writing and admits only those children of an immigrant who are under eighteen years of age; whereas the Burnett Bill requires only reading and permits an immigrant to bring in or send for his daughters irrespective of age, though sons over sixteen years of age will be excluded, thus dividing a family.

Both the Burnett Bill and the Dillingham Bill would in practice exclude almost all those females, unable to read and write, over sixteen years of age, coming alone and who may desire to enter domestic service.

If the provision for the literacy test contained in the Dillingham Bill, requiring words from the Constitution of the United States to be read and written, is enacted into law, it would in practice exclude a great many to whom the terms of the Constitution are unknown and for many of which there is no equivalent in their language. They would find it impossible to read the language of the Constitution, and on this account the percentage of exclusions would probably be double that estimated.

On the face of the statistics compiled by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, twenty-six per cent. of all immigrants would be excluded by the literacy test, though in the case of some immigrants more than fifty per cent. would be excluded.

The following table shows the percentages of aliens over 14 years of age who would be excluded by a literacy test:

(Abstract of reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. I., p. 99. Number and percentage of immigrants admitted to the United States who were 14 years of age or over and who could neither read nor write, during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race or people. Compiled from the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

| RACE OR PEOPLE | Number 14 years of age or over admitted | Persons 14 years of age or over who could neither read nor write | |
|--|---|---|-----------|
| | | No. | Per Cent. |
| African (black) | 30,177 | 5,733 | 19.0 |
| Armenian | 23,523 | 5,624 | 23.0 |
| Bohemian and Moravian | 79,721 | 1,322 | 1.7 |
| Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin | 95,596 | 39,903 | 41.7 |
| Chinese | 21,584 | 1,516 | 7.0 |
| Croatian and Slovenian | 320,977 | 115,785 | 36.1 |
| Cuban | 36,431 | 2,282 | 6.3 |
| Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian | 30,861 | 12,653 | 41.0 |
| Dutch and Flemish | 68,907 | 3,043 | 4.4 |
| East Indian | 5,724 | 2,703 | 47.2 |
| English | 347,458 | 3,647 | 1.0 |
| Finnish | 137,916 | 1,745 | 1.3 |
| French | 97,638 | 6,145 | 6.3 |
| German | 625,793 | 32,236 | 5.2 |
| Greek | 208,608 | 55,089 | 26.4 |
| Hebrew | 806,786 | 209,507 | 26.0 |
| Irish | 416,640 | 10,721 | 2.6 |
| Italian (north) | 339,301 | 38,897 | 11.5 |
| Italian (south) | 1,690,376 | 911,566 | 53.9 |
| Japanese | 146,172 | 35,956 | 24.6 |
| Korean | 7,259 | 2,763 | 38.1 |
| Lithuanian | 161,441 | 79,001 | 48.9 |
| Magyar | 307,082 | 35,004 | 11.4 |
| Mexican | 32,721 | 18,717 | 57.2 |
| Pacific Islander | 336 | 83 | 24.7 |
| Polish | 861,303 | 304,675 | 35.4 |
| Portuguese | 55,930 | 38,122 | 68.2 |
| Roumanian | 80,839 | 28,266 | 35.0 |
| Russian | 77,479 | 29,777 | 38.4 |
| Ruthenian (Russniak) | 140,775 | 75,165 | 53.4 |
| Scandinavian | 530,634 | 2,221 | .4 |
| Scotch | 115,788 | 767 | .7 |
| Slovak | 342,583 | 82,216 | 24.0 |
| Spanish | 46,418 | 6,724 | 14.5 |
| Spanish-American | 9,008 | 547 | 6.1 |
| Syrian | 47,834 | 25,496 | 53.3 |
| Turkish | 12,670 | 7,536 | 59.5 |
| Welsh | 17,076 | 322 | 1.9 |
| West Indian (except Cuban) | 9,983 | 320 | 3.2 |
| Other peoples | 11,209 | 5,001 | 44.6 |
| Not specified | 67 | 5 | 7.5 |
| TOTAL | 8,398,624 | 2,238,801 | 26.7 |

But these figures are based on the voluntary statements of the immigrants, and a literacy test would in practical application probably keep out a great many more than the figures above given would indicate,

especially with the Constitution as the test, since they are probably under-estimates rather than over-estimates; and they do not make allowance for the nervousness of the immigrant at the time of examination. Instead of excluding only 2 per cent. of the Jews as stated on page 6, of Report No. 259, 62d Congress, 2d Session, House of Representatives, the above statistics show that 26 per cent. of the Jews would be excluded.

Recent statistics of Jewish immigrants to Galveston give the following figures:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Of 1,333 males, | |
| Can read Yiddish and Russian..... | 53.89% |
| Can read Yiddish only..... | 24. % |
| Can read Russian only..... | 2.83% |
| Can read Yiddish, Russian and Hebrew..... | 0.71% |
| Cannot read any language..... | 12.55% |
| Of 220 Females, | |
| Cannot read any language..... | 37.73% |

These are in the main the victims of Russian religious persecution, to whom the schools are closed on account of the faith they profess. The recent volume by Mary Antin, "The Promised Land," shows from her personal experience that to the Jews of Russia the United States typifies, above all else the land where their children may have the benefits of education, denied them by the Russian government.

As respects the inadequacy and injustice of a literacy test as the measure of a man's desirability for admission, the following expressions of opinion are submitted:

(Extract from an address by Honorable Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, delivered on January 18, 1911, at New York.)

I am on record as being unqualifiedly opposed to the illiteracy test. It is not a matter of sentiment. You may indulge sentiment in an individual case, but you cannot indulge sentiment in governmental policy. You must know why you come to your conclusion. I think I know why I have come to mine. I care more for the sound body and the sound mind and the straight look out of the eye and the ability and the willingness to work as a test than for any other test that can be given.

I have been asked whether illiteracy stands in the way of assimilation. I say unqualifiedly in my opinion it does not. On the contrary, to be entirely frank about it, I believe that the ability to read and write a foreign language, aided by your foreign press in this country, tends to perpetuate the spirit of colonization longer than it can be if a sound mind and body comes in without the ability to read and write and is forced of necessity to resort to our own language.

And on October 9, 1912, in a speech at Cooper Union Secretary Nagel said:

I am bound to admit that I cannot support that law, broadly speaking. I believe it is intended as a piece of legislation for wholesale exclusion, and I don't believe in that kind of legislation. If you want to exclude certain nationalities, say so, and meet the issue squarely. I don't believe literacy is a fair test for the admission of an immigrant. I will say again what I said a year ago, that I care more for the sound body and the sound mind, and the straight look out of the eye, and the ability and willingness to work, as a test, than any other test that can be given.

(From the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1909, page 5.)

* * * It cannot be stated as a hard and fast rule that the desirability of an alien is always to be measured by his ability to read and write.

(From the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1910, page 5.)

There may be some merit in the proposals to fix a "literacy test" and to increase the head tax; but, as was explained in last year's report, neither of these projects is likely to be as efficacious as their advocates think; for the first is not in the direction, necessarily, of raising the general standard and is not as practical as it looks on the surface, and the second, under the existing system of lending money or selling passage on credit, would to some extent increase opportunities for the exploitation of aliens, and bring many of the lowest element into the country in a more impoverished state than they now come.

(Extract from the views of Mr. Bennet of New York and Mr. O'Connell of Massachusetts, House of Representatives, Report No. 1956, Part 2, 61st Congress, 3d Session.)

* * * The educational test * * * will keep out some able-bodied men and women of irreproachable moral character and filled with the desire to work, but who have not had early educational advantages; and will admit practically every foreign-born criminal, who has misused early advantages, and also that small, but dangerous, class, who come to this country with no intention of engaging in an honest occupation, but of maintaining themselves through the exploitation of their fellow-countrymen. Education is the principal means through which this class obtains the confidence of its victims.

We do not, however, principally oppose the literacy test because of its being a sham, nor entirely because it keeps out many who should be admitted and lets in some who should be debarred, but because the reasons given for restriction are slight and those for selection do not exist. It is true that the Immigration Commission reported that in some basic industries there was a surplus of labor, which indicated that there was an overplus of unskilled laborers in the industries of the country, but the Commission unanimously recommended that so far as restriction was concerned it should be applied to unskilled laborers either single or coming here leaving their families behind them. The sole recommendation of the Immigration Commission in regard to the educational test was that it was the most feasible, from which we assume the majority meant that it was the easiest to secure, and even in this we think that that majority was in error. As to the character of the immigrants who have come to this country in the past 25 years, the Immigration Commission—nine men of differing views—reported unanimously that conviction for crime is no more common among the new immigrants than among the native born; that they are far less the victims of disease than any other class of immigrants of whom statistics have ever been kept; that they are rarely found among the victims of alcoholism; that pauperism is relatively at a minimum among them; that in the most con-

gested blocks of cities having the largest foreign-born populations five-sixths of the homes of the foreign-born are well kept and two-fifths are immaculate—and this on the report of women investigators; that their children attend school in large numbers; and that such new immigrants are much more rarely found in the insane asylum than their predecessors.

While we concur in the evident opinion of the commissioner-general that the literacy test would not be effective, there is no question about its effectiveness concerning one class, and that is the illiterate aliens who in prior years have been admitted to this country and who are not yet naturalized. In past years, when times have become hard in this country the alien who had but recently arrived, who was an unmarried man, or who had a family in the country of his birth went back at the first sign of economic distress, thus relieving this country of any question as to his support. The most recent and impressive example was had during the years of 1907 and 1908, and these returning aliens went cheerfully because they understood that when there was a demand again for labor in this country, they could return.

* * * * *

The moment the literacy test is enacted every alien in this country who cannot comply with it, and who has the slightest desire to attach himself to our country will be attached to this country by the fact that if he once goes out he cannot certainly come in, for even the method of administration of the new test is uncertain. And, therefore, if another period of economic distress should come, we would not have the benefit of the economic relief which we had in the recent years through the emigration of those who were least competent to succeed. This would make any subsequent panic or business depression much more disastrous and the recovery much more slow.

* * * * *

It has been our boast since the days of Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, and William Penn that this country was the refuge for the oppressed. On that sentiment, in large part, has been built up our national idea of free America, and because of that sentiment, we have attracted here the ambitious of every nation. The free and unrestricted immigration of the able-bodied has not injured our country in the past, but has helped it, and the maintenance of our shores as an asylum for the oppressed has made us an example for liberty everywhere and a continued menace to tyranny. We cannot afford, after our emphatic success as exponents of liberty and freedom, to adopt at this time any measure based upon an avowal of our belief that lack of opportunity of any alien people has made them our inferiors, nor can we afford to close our doors to fugitives from oppression and injustice still unfortunately existing. The Russian-Jewish mothers who have seen their husbands and their children killed and maimed in the pogroms have just as much right in this country in the twentieth century as the Puritan and the Pilgrim had in the seventeenth. The Pole and the Finn who has seen his country enslaved, have the same rights to come here to freedom and liberty as had William Penn and his Quakers.

The denationalized Roumanian Jew, proscribed because of race and religion in the country of his birth, has the moral right to enjoy our country's Constitution guaranteeing religious freedom. The family of the murdered Armenian Christian from Asia Minor cannot be barred without a reversal of all our previous professions and practice, and the

South Italian, coming to this country to escape the burden of medieval landlordism, puts his claim on exactly the same grounds as the Irish immigrant of the fifties. In the past, the peoples coming to us because of similar reasons have risen among us to standing and success, and there is no reason to believe that those now coming will not do so also. The rigid bill, ordered to be reported, against which we protest, would bar out, irrespective of every other consideration, the people of any of the classes we have mentioned. * * *

(Extract from the views of Representative Gustav Küstermann, Adolph J. Sabath, Henry M. Goldfogle, presented to the House of Representatives on January 28, 1911, House of Representatives, 61st Congress, 3d Session, Report No. 1956, Part 2.)

The application of a literacy test would serve to exclude from admission some able-bodied men and women of good moral character, capable of self-support, and industriously inclined, but who owing to the unfortunate, and in many instances deplorable, conditions existing in their native lands, have not had the advantage of education. In some of the countries from which many of the immigrants, at which this bill is manifestly aimed, come the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of reading and writing is quite meager, while in some localities in those countries the opportunity for education is to such persons practically denied. And yet these people may be thoroughly honest, thrifty and enterprising, industrious and self-supporting. When admitted to our shores, thousands and thousands of them avail themselves of the means of the popular and liberal school system almost everywhere afforded in the Union to get a rudimentary education. Certainly, at least sufficient to enable them to read and write.

In every large city—indeed, in every city and almost every large town—men and women of foreign birth are to be found who, when they landed in this country could neither read nor write, have learned to do so in the schools (either the day or night schools) or obtained their knowledge through private instruction or, as is frequently the case, by being taught by their own children. Hundreds of thousands of such persons have become good farmers and mechanics, storekeepers and tradesmen and successful and prosperous business men in different lines of industry and have contributed to the general welfare of the communities in which they settled. Myriads of such persons have made desirable acquisitions and became, after they had availed themselves of the opportunities this country affords, desirable citizens.

The children of immigrant parents, whether born here or abroad, quickly acquire an education in our schools. They exhibit eagerness to learn. Statistics demonstrate and experience proves that these children have great aptitude for study and make rapid and, in fact, remarkable educational progress. Very large numbers of them graduate from the schools with honor, many of them go to high schools and colleges. Yet their parents, if illiterate when knocking at the doors of our country for admission, would have been turned away under an educational test such as the bill reported proposes. * * *

We cannot but regard the bill as un-American. It is opposed to all the traditions of our country and subversive of the broad principles we have always professed in the past. Our national boast has been that this

country was the refuge for the downtrodden and the oppressed, who when coming in a healthy bodily and mental condition and with law-abiding spirit should be permitted to enter our gateway and to receive the hospitable shelter of our land. That sentiment in very large part has built up our national idea of free Americanism. We attract through its means the ambitious from other nations. The immigration of the able-bodied and honestly inclined has heretofore contributed in a very large degree to the greatness and prosperity of this Republic.

The maintenance of our land as an asylum for the oppressed and those who are compelled to escape from scenes of tyranny and persecution has made us an example for true liberty everywhere. In the line of our traditions and of the principles that have guided us in the past, through means of which our country stands pre-eminent as the land of liberty and freedom and equal opportunity, we cannot afford to close our doors to those who still unfortunately suffer from oppression existing in foreign lands, merely because they cannot read, although otherwise qualified for such admission under existing law.

(Extract from the Veto Message of President Cleveland, March 2, 1897.)

A radical departure from our national policy relating to immigration is here presented. Heretofore we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands, except those whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the jealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy, which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

A contemplation of the grand results of this policy cannot fail to arouse a sentiment in its defense; for however it might have been regarded as an original proposition and viewed as an experiment, its accomplishments are such that if it is to be uprooted at this late day its disadvantages should be plainly apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties, and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.

* * * * *

It is said, however, that the quality of recent immigration is undesirable. The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.

* * * * *

The best reason that could be given for this radical restriction of immigration is the necessity of protecting our population against degeneration and saving our national peace and quiet from imported turbulence and disorder.

I cannot believe that we would be protected against these evils by limiting immigration to those who can read and write in any language.

twenty-five words of our Constitution. In my opinion it is infinitely more safe to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work, than to admit one of those unruly agitators and enemies of governmental control, who cannot only read and write but delights in arousing by inflammatory speech the illiterate and peacefully inclined to discontent and tumult. Violence and disorder do not originate with illiterate laborers. They are rather the victims of the educated agitator. The ability to read and write as required in this bill, in and of itself, affords, in my opinion, a misleading test of contented industry and supplies unsatisfactory evidence of desirable citizenship or a proper apprehension of the benefits of our institutions. If any particular element of our illiterate immigration is to be feared for other causes than illiteracy, these causes should be dealt with directly instead of making illiteracy the pretext for exclusion to the detriment of other illiterate immigrants against whom the real cause of complaint cannot be alleged.

(Extract from the remarks of Professor Emily Greene Balch, Wellesley College, author of "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens," at meeting of the American Economic Association, Washington, D. C., December 29, 1911.)

I do not include the illiteracy test among the measures that I desire, because I believe that it would affect exclusion along a line that would cause great hardship and that is not coincident with desirability and undesirability from our point of view. The miner who cannot read Ruthenian and whose son came over from Harvard recently to consult me about the social work that he wants to do among his people in Pennsylvania was better stuff and better fitted to prosper in America than the unsuccessful "intellectual proletariat" who come to America to recoup their failure at home. Of course I am citing an exceptional case, but I believe that it is a fact that most Americans have an entirely false conception of the real significance of peasant illiteracy, which need not connote a lack of either energy or intelligence. The advantage, too, when here, of the ability to read and write in a foreign language is vastly over-rated and the barrier that it sets up to assimilation is quite overlooked.

(Extract from the testimony of Miss Grace Abbott, Director of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago, before the Committee on Immigration, House of Representatives, January 11, 1912.)

I feel very strongly that it would be a great mistake to have a literacy test, because of the fact that there are many parts of Europe, notably in Galicia, and in parts of Russia and Hungary, as well as in southern Italy, where the possibility of getting an education is often extremely difficult. To exclude them would mean excluding a group of people who are eager to advance their position, who are willing to make great sacrifices in order to do it, but who happen to lack the ability to read and write. Great numbers of them supply that lack immediately upon coming here, and some come in order to supply it. The literacy test is no guaranty of character, and it seems to me its adoption would be a departure from American traditions which would not be beneficial to the American industrial situation.

(*Extract from the testimony of Herman Stump, Former Commissioner-General of Immigration, before the Industrial Commission. Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XV., p. 6.*)

My idea of immigration is this: We have, in my mind, the most skilful and best laboring class in the world, I think American workingmen are superior to others. It may be in some of the finer arts, where it takes long to acquire the skill that is required, it is not so, but for the production of work, with our improved machinery, we can beat the world. We are also an educated people. We want our sons to become our clerks, accountants and business men, and find employment on the higher walks and occupations. We must necessarily have a certain other class to do our manual work—not menial exactly, but work which is honorable but at the same time of a lower order, which requires no skill or education. We want laborers upon our roads, upon our railroads, to clean our sewers and streets, and everything of that kind, and when you look around, I think you will find that Americans are getting beyond that. A young able-bodied man who comes from a foreign land to settle here, with energy and willingness to work, is an acquisition to the country, and while we do not want him to occupy the positions which education would enable him to occupy, we want him to occupy the positions where it does not matter much whether he knows his A B C's, or the simple rule of three or anything else.

(*Extract from the testimony of Dr. Joseph H. Senner, former Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, before the Industrial Commission. Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XV., p. 168.*)

Based on my extended practical experience in charge of the paramount immigration station, I state that with the present number of inspection aisles and of available registry clerks, an introduction of the Lodge bill would much more than double the time for examination, and thereby double the hardships of steerage passengers. Its practical effect would, therefore, in my opinion, come dangerously near to an annihilation of immigration from nations of higher grade.

In order to dispose right here of the Lodge bill, I wish to state that our opposition to the same is principally based on our conviction that the proper time for such an educational test is at the time of naturalization and not upon admission to the country. We further regard its application to women as not only generally unjust, but practically, also, as a severe aggravation to our much vexed servant-girl question. We believe that its introduction for immigrants stands in a rather curious contrast with the present policy of expansion and its consequence as to wholesale reception of illiterate, if not savage, co-citizens. And finally, as a protective measure for American workingmen, the Lodge bill would be simply a farce, because the skilled laborer, whose competition organized labor wishes to restrict, could at any time pass any such examination.

(*Extract from an editorial in New York "Christian Work," March 18, 1911.*)

Every year there are attempts to foist upon Congress bills to prevent immigration. Now it is one form of test, now another. At present

it is the so-called educational test that the perpetrators of these bills would insert in our immigration laws. As a matter of fact there could hardly be a more deceptive test of real worth. The public school system is not developed in many parts of Europe as it is here, or had not been until very recent years. Consequently many who have been coming here have not been what one might call scholars. Not always could they read and write. But these very ones have often been our best immigrants—strong, lusty, ambitious, good natured, hard-working young men. The proposed educational test would shut out just these men who are tilling our farms, building our houses, laying our railroads and bridges, digging our coal from the earth. Many of them, under the stimulus of American surroundings and since it is necessary if they would have a share in the American Government, learn to read. The New York night schools are full of adults learning reading and other useful accomplishments. Their children learn with greatest avidity. The test of immigration should be health and morality. We cannot afford to be the hospital for those Europe has made sick so long as Europe can afford to care for them, neither can we act as the penitentiary for her criminals; but apart from this we should welcome the immigrants freely, for they are our wealth.

(Extract from a Protest against the proposed new immigration law, presented to the President by a Delegation of Citizens of Philadelphia, after Conference with Speaker Cannon and the Pennsylvania Congressional Delegation, June 23, 1906.)

It is submitted that an immigrant should not be denied admission to our country if he is morally, physically and mentally sound; that inability to read is not a fair measure of a man's moral worth, nor of his economic value nor of his mental capacity; in short, it is not a fitting test of a man's honesty, nor of his capacity; to work with his hands nor of his ability to learn. Experience proves that moral soundness—simple honesty—is independent of intellectual culture; many men are morally sound notwithstanding their ignorance, and many others are morally unsound in spite of their education.

The ability to read is not a fair measure of a man's economic value, because experience proves that a man's capacity to earn a living is not necessarily dependent on intellectual culture.

* * * * *

A man's inability to read is not a fair test of his intelligence nor of his ability to learn. Many men are so circumstanced as to be precluded from learning how to read. This occurs in some cases as in that of the Jewish inhabitants of Russia and Roumania, through governmental measures enforced for that very purpose or, as in the case of other subjects of those governments and of some of the inhabitants of other European lands, through hindering causes of a sociological nature. Such privation, though preventing a man from learning life through literature, does not prevent him from learning through experience; on the contrary, it quite frequently enhances this latter capacity, as numerous instances prove. It is therefore in the highest degree unreasonable to assume that a man's inability to read so strikingly impairs his value as a factor in the social economy that he must be completely debarred from taking part in it.

(Extract from an article on "Adjustment—Not Restriction," by Miss Grace Abbott, Director of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago, "Survey," January 7, 1911, p. 529.)

As for the literacy test, it is difficult to find anything to recommend it as the best means, or even as a good means of selecting our future citizens. What we desire is a character test, and the ability to read and write has never been regarded as a means of determining honesty or thrift. It is not even a test of ambition, for the immigrants come without the meager educational equipment because they have been given no opportunity to attend school in the countries from which they come. There is nothing which is so much the result of conditions over which the immigrant has no control as his ability to read and write, and no deficiency which we are so well equipped to supply.

(Views of Hon. J. Hampton Moore, of Pennsylvania, House of Representatives, Report I., 1956, Part 2, 61st Congress, 3d Session, January 28, 1911.)

I am opposed to restriction of immigration by the illiteracy test, because the enforcement of such a test would tend to exclude worthy but uneducated immigrants who are willing to work, and of whom we stand in need, and would admit unworthy, educated immigrants who will not work and of whom we already have more than we need. In my judgment the desirable immigrant is the law-abiding worker who comes to this country in good faith, and the undesirable immigrant is the clever and educated schemer who, immediately upon his arrival, begins to find fault with our institutions.

(Extract from a speech of Hon. John C. Keliher, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives.)

I would ask you to follow me in your mind's eye under the bed of Boston Harbor, where Yankee enterprise and energy have bored an immense tunnel with an opening of sufficient size to permit of a double-track road-bed that brings inestimable joy to the denizens of a great section of the city, in the form of convenience and comfort in reaching their homes from the business locality of the city. Could this work have been done as economically and with the dispatch that characterizes it if countless sons of sunny Italy had not been at hand? Go with me also into the subway we are now building in Boston, which will be a boon to all the people of that congested city. Toiling like beavers in a cut, the arch of which is scarcely 15 feet under the foundation of a 13-story building, can be seen by night and day myriad Italians toiling with no apparent thought of the great danger that ever hovers over this hazardous enterprise. It is safe to say that if a knowledge of the art of reading were the test demanded, rather than a sound body and willingness to swing a pick, there would be scarcely a mother's son of them engaged upon that great public project. Now, with what class of labor do these Italians interfere? The Irishman of to-day won't go into the trench unless it is to act as a boss; the German cannot be induced to grasp a pick; the native American's physical make-up would bar him if he did not consider such menial labor beneath him; the Scandinavian finds ample demand for his service in more congenial branches; the Englishman answers the call of the mill proprietor, and the Scotchman goes with him.

If you shut the door to the dark-skinned son of Italy, where will we go to get the commodity which to us is an essential? The second generation, the son of the trench-digging Italian, won't follow his father's footsteps in those fields. He goes to school, absorbs book-learning quickly, and becomes imbued with a laudable ambition to better himself, and he does. You could no more coax him to wield a pick or handle a shovel than you could a Sioux Indian to imbibe water as a social beverage if whiskey were available. This being so, if you bar out the Italian, Pole and Hungarian, from whence are we to recruit our trench-diggers?

(Extract from a speech of Hon. Bourke Cockran, of New York, in the House of Representatives.)

We who oppose the educational test believe the man who works with his hands, who is trained to efficiency in labor, is the desirable immigrant. The test that we wish to impose is one that will establish his ability and his willingness to work. * * * There is not a vicious man in any community outside of the poorhouse that is not more or less educated. He cannot live by his wits rather than by his hands unless those wits are trained to some extent. Any unlettered immigrant shows that he must have virtuous instincts by the very fact that he comes here, for he can have no other purpose than to support life by his toil. I believe that it is more important that the applicant for admission to these shores should be made to show by the calloused palms of his hands that he is accustomed to work than to show glibness of tongue in meeting a literary test.

Mr. Chairman, let us consider in the light of ordinary experience what must happen to the man who comes here with nothing except the capacity to work. He must work to live, and he must work hard all day. No man who spends all the hours of the day in work can be vicious. Even if he had vicious propensities, he would have no time to indulge them. How can any man work from morning until night, increasing the production of the soil, and be other than a valuable citizen? The man who comes here where no mode of living is possible to him except by the work of his hands gives a bond to society that his life, if it be supported at all, must be spent in actively serving the common welfare. The unlettered man can live only by work. The educated man never wants to live by manual labor. If I were reduced to a choice—and I do not want to exclude anybody—but if I were reduced to a choice between the man who could stand this educational test and the man who could not—if I must exclude one or the other—it would be the man with such a literary qualification as the bill provides, for he may lead a vicious life, while the man who works with his hands cannot lead other than a useful because an industrial life.

(Extract from an address made by Judge Nathan Bijur at the Massachusetts Reform Club, on January 28, 1907.)

On the other hand, it is a matter of common knowledge that thousands of honest, sturdy and intelligent natives of many European countries are illiterate, due solely to the lack of educational facilities in the country of their origin and residence. The fact is well known to every person having experience with this class of immigrants that in this country they rapidly acquire sufficient familiarity with our language to overcome their early disability.

(Letter of Cardinal Gibbons.)

Cardinal's Residence,
408 North Charles Street,
Baltimore, Md., May 5, 1912.

RABBI WILLIAM ROSENAU,
1515 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md.

MY DEAR MR. ROSENAU:

I am in receipt of your esteemed favor of the 3rd inst., and in reply I beg to say that I am not in favor of any educational test as applied to immigrants desiring to enter the United States. Such a law, if passed, would, in my opinion, work great harm, for illiteracy is by no means always ignorance. If the immigrant is industrious and thrifty, he will make a useful citizen, whether he be literate or illiterate. The educated schemer is in more ways than one more dangerous than the honest workman, even though he be illiterate.

Very sincerely yours,

J. CARDINAL GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

(Letter of President Eliot of Harvard University.)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., February 14, 1910.

MY DEAR SIR:

I beg leave to invite your attention to the following statement of the principles which should govern the national legislation on immigration:

(1) Our country needs the labor of every honest and healthy immigrant who has the intelligence and enterprise to come hither.

(2) Existing legislation is sufficient to exclude undesirable immigrants.

(3) Educational tests should not be applied at the moment of entrance to the United States, but at the moment of naturalization.

(4) The proper education test is capacity to read in English or in the native tongue; not the Bible or the Constitution of the United States, but newspaper items in some recent English or native newspaper which the candidate cannot have seen.

(5) The attitude of Congress and the laws should be hospitable and not repellant.

The only questions which are appropriate are, is he healthy, strong, and desirous of earning a good living? Many illiterates have common sense, sound bodies and good characters. Indeed, it is not clear that education increases much the amount of common sense which nature gave the individual. An educational test is appropriate at the time when the foreigner proposes to become a voting citizen. He ought then to know how to read.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

Hon. Jos. F. O'Connell,
House of Representatives.

(Letter of President John Cavanaugh, C.S.C., of Notre Dame University.)

NOTRE DAME, IND., February 26, 1910.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'CONNELL: * * * * *

I am not in favor of any educational test as applied to immigrants desiring to enter the United States, though an educational test is entirely proper before naturalization.

* * * * *

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN CAVANAUGH, C.S.C.,
President.

The Hon. Joseph F. O'Connell,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

(Letter of President Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago.)

The University of Chicago, February 28, 1910.

DEAR SIR: * * * I am not in favor of the restriction of immigration on the basis of the ability to read some European language. There is no doubt that the ability in question is desirable. At the same time, the conditions of workingmen in the old country and their conditions in our country are radically different. If they are industrious and honest and thrifty they will make useful citizens, and their children, having the opportunity of attending our free public schools, will acquire the needed education. * * *

Very truly yours,

HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

Hon. Joseph F. O'Connell,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

(Letter of President Joseph Himmel of Georgetown University.)

Georgetown University,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 28, 1910.

SIR: Regarding the educational test as a means of restricting immigration, on which question there is an agitation to report out a bill, I beg leave to submit the following:

(1) The educational test should be applied to the voter, not to the immigrant.

(2) The laws restraining immigration are sufficiently drastic and, if put into execution, will safeguard the country. Those who have openly taught immorality and favored anarchy should be excluded rather than the illiterates.

An illiterate artisan is not necessarily an ignorant or undesirable immigrant. Our whole past history proves that such men may serve the country in their proper sphere.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH HIMMEL, *President.*

Hon. Joseph F. O'Connell,
House of Representatives.

(Letter of President J. G. Schurman of Cornell University.)

Cornell University,
ITHACA, N. Y., March 4, 1910.

DEAR SIR: I have your communication of February 23, with the enclosed copy of the letter of ex-President Eliot of Harvard University on the subject of the admission of immigrants into the United States.

I fully concur in the views expressed by President Eliot, and I do not think I can express them in clearer, more forcible or appropriate language.

Very truly yours,
J. G. SCHURMAN.

Hon. Joseph F. O'Connell,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

(Letter of President T. I. Gasson of Boston College, Boston, Mass.)

Boston College,
BOSTON, MASS., February 25, 1910.

MY DEAR MR. O'CONNELL:

* * * * *

(1) Does not the country need the toil of every intelligent, active and moral worker who comes to us?

(2) The proper time for the educational test is when the immigrant seeks to be naturalized.

(3) Let existing legislation be enforced before new laws are enacted. The wise regulations already made, if enforced, would bar out undesirable subjects.

(4) There are millions of acres in the West waiting for these farm-loving immigrants. I am sure that you will insist upon these truths.

Ever yours sincerely,
T. I. GASSON, S.J.

Hon. Joseph F. O'Connell,
Washington, D. C.

RATIO OF FOREIGN BORN TO NATIVE BORN UNCHANGED

Much is made by restrictionists of the supposed enormous influx of foreigners and especially of the change in the racial character of immigrants. For their purposes, they characterize the immigration which arrived here before 1890 as the "old" immigration, and that which has arrived since then as the "new."

But there has been practically no change in the ratio between foreign born and native born as is demonstrated by the following table:

| Census Year | Total Population Considered | Native Born | | Foreign Born | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| | | Number | Per Cent. of Total | Number | Per Cent. of Total |
| 1860..... | 31,443,321 | 27,304,624 | 86.8 | 4,138,697 | 13.2 |
| 1870..... | 38,558,371 | 32,991,142 | 85.6 | 5,567,229 | 14.4 |
| 1880..... | 50,155,783 | 43,475,840 | 86.7 | 6,679,943 | 13.3 |
| 1890..... | 63,069,756 | 53,761,652 | 85.2 | 9,308,104 | 14.8 |
| 1900..... | 76,303,387 | 65,843,302 | 86.3 | 10,460,085 | 13.7 |
| 1910..... | 91,972,266 | 78,629,766 | 84.3 | 13,342,500 | 15.7 |

The change in the source of our immigration is due to the simple fact that in the countries from which the United States before 1890 drew the bulk of its immigration, there has been an enormous industrial and economic expansion. And this, as is well known, is particularly true of Germany, which has become a country of immigration instead of one of emigration. Owing to the industrial development of that country so many agricultural laborers have been drawn into skilled industries that great numbers of unskilled laborers are attracted from Austria-Hungary, Russia and Italy—the same countries that supply the United States with the bulk of its unskilled labor.

The characterization of the present-day immigration as coming from a source out of harmony with the spirit of American institutions and not readily assimilable on that account, can be matched almost word for word by a similar characterization of the “old” immigration dating back to the beginning of the 19th Century. (See Report of Industrial Commission 1901, Volume XV, pp. 449-491, and Hearings before House Committee on Immigration, 62d Congress, 2d Session, pp. 95-98.)

(Speech of Senator James A. O’Gorman delivered in the Senate on April 18, 1912.)

I am opposed to the imposition of an educational test upon those born in foreign countries who desire to come to the United States. I think it would be regrettable to exclude thousands of able-bodied, honest and industrious men, otherwise desirable, who might not be able to meet the requirements of this proposed qualification.

It is said in behalf of this amendment that the large number of foreign-born who pass through the ports of the United States enter into competition with American labor. That is true; it has always been true; it was as true a generation ago as it is to-day, and yet in its results the entire country has been benefited.

This proposal to exclude foreigners has no novelty. This Republic had but completed the first decade of its existence when, in the administration of John Adams, the same sentiments which I have heard expressed on this floor to-day and yesterday were uttered against the foreign-born. To discourage immigration, as far back as 1798, under the influence of the Federalist Party, the period of naturalization was extended from 5 to 14 years, and during the same session of Congress and under the same influences the odious alien and sedition laws were passed, which conferred upon the then President of the United States the power to exclude at his will any foreigner found upon American territory. It is to the honor of our institutions and to the glory of the Republic that the shame and infamy of that legislation was wiped out when the Democrats of this country elected Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency.

From time to time in every succeeding generation there have been those who were opposed to the admission of the foreign-born into the brotherhood of the Republic. The same arguments were used then that are used now. Within the memory of men in this Chamber it was said of the races which are now glorified and alluded to as the “old immigration” that they could not be assimilated with the American body politic. That those accusations in those days were unfounded has been demonstrated by the experience of the American people. That the aspersions now cast upon the races from southern and eastern Europe are equally unfounded will be established in time.

We are not crowded on this continent. The population of all Europe might be placed in the single State of Texas, and there would be less congestion than now prevails on the Continent of Europe. If there ever come a time when the American people may deem it necessary to impose restrictions upon desirable immigration, the time will not come in our generation; and if a restriction should be required, if it should be deemed wise as a national policy to discourage immigration, let us proceed upon a safe and sound theory; let us make the qualification that of character and not educational attainments.

Our country is enriched every time an honest, able-bodied man enters the United States. Our institutions are threatened, our safety imperilled, when we become careless respecting those who, possessing an intellectual qualification, are devoid of that which is far more essential, a character qualification. Washington himself spoke of the need of preserving the morality of our people. With this proposed test you ignore the morality of your citizenship; you ignore the question as to whether in character the man is worthy to take his place in this great Republic and help to work out those problems that promise so much for the betterment and happiness of mankind.

For many years in our history we claimed to be the country that extended a welcome to the oppressed from every clime. Why have we changed? Are we so content with our own insulation and with the blessings of our institutions that we would exclude the rest of the people of the world from sharing in their advantages? Our marvelous prosperity, unexampled in the history of governments, a growth in a century and a quarter from 3,000,000 to 90,000,000 people, was made possible only by the policy of free immigration that this country has so generously and so wisely observed in the past. The foreign-born have contributed their share of energy, devotion and patriotism to the greatness of the Republic.

I can find nothing in the suggestions of Senators who have spoken on the other side of this proposition to incline me to yield to their view. I shall vote against every educational test. Impose any character test, and it will have my support.

(From a speech of Senator William J. Stone, of Missouri, April 19, 1912.)

Of course, education, enlightenment is most desirable. Universal education is a part of our national policy. All the States are striving, at great public expense, to educate their children. Ignorance is to be regretted. But, Mr. President, I want to say that I do not believe that the people who are ignorant of book lore—the unlettered people—who come to us from Europe are the agitators who stir up and disturb the social and industrial life of America. Education, even rudimentary education, is greatly to be desired. Education better fits a man or woman to fight the battle of life in this remarkably intelligent age in which we are living. But, Mr. President, there are in all countries, America among them, thousands of people—law-abiding, honest, industrious, patriotic people—who can neither read nor write, but who are anxious that their children should enjoy better advantages than have come to them. Such people—good, moral, honest, industrious people—come here from Europe, bringing their little ones with them, seeking to enjoy all the wider and better advantages of this great free Republic of ours. These are not bad people; they are good people. We know, if we know anything, that the evangels of the red flag and the disturbers of public order are composed

of a class of men who are smart, who are educated, who speak with glib tongues, and who have the power of arousing the passions of their listeners. A man of this type I would exclude, even though he held a college degree; but I would not exclude an honest, law-abiding man merely because he could neither read nor write. This proposed policy is a reversal of our entire national policy up to this time.

* * * * *

Mr. President, before closing these observations I wish to say that this literacy test in this bill smacks too much of Know-nothingism and A. P. A.ism to command my support. All of you are familiar with the old Know-nothing propaganda, and you are also familiar with the more recent revival of that propaganda under the name of the American Protective Association. Both of these movements were intended to lay drastic and most intolerant proscription upon foreign-born people and upon the membership of the Catholic Church. The era of know-nothingism was before my day, but I know as a matter of history that the Democratic party fought the movement tooth and nail and destroyed it. When A. P. A.ism was projected and raised a threatening hand against the equality of American citizenship because of the accident of birth and because of religious conviction, I happened at that time to have the honor of being the Governor of Missouri. Without a moment of hesitation I put myself in opposition to the movement. At the meeting of the Democratic State Convention in 1894 I wrote a resolution denouncing A. P. A.ism and was successful in having it incorporated in the party platform then adopted. The Democratic party as an organization followed a similar course throughout the country, and A. P. A.ism, like Know-nothingism, disappeared as an active force in public affairs. Still there can be no doubt that the intolerant spirit of these movements remains. It lurks quiescent, but it is still in the minds and hearts of many men. I will not say, for I would be most unwilling to believe, that any Senator supporting this educational test approves the intolerant spirit and un-American doctrines of Know-nothingism or A. P. A.ism; nevertheless this educational test is but one form of giving new life and vigor to that spirit and those doctrines. I cannot support a proposition so strongly marked with intolerance as this one. Why should we deny admission to an honest, manly man of good health and strength, and against whose character no word can be spoken, simply because, unfortunately, his environments and opportunities have been such as to deny him the advantages of an education? Why, sir, if it had been the rule in many of our States that no man should exercise the right of suffrage who could not read and write, that rule would have disfranchised thousands of honest and patriotic men who believed in orderly government and who stood ever ready to defend American institutions. It has been said with apparent good authority that the parents of more than one man who became President of the United States were illiterate. This we know: that the descendants of men who could neither read nor write have made great names for themselves and added luster to our history. Mr. President, keep out immoral and wicked people; keep out those likely to become a public charge; keep out those who would foment disorder and make war upon our institutions and civilization; but I invoke you not to turn back honest men or virtuous women—men and women who want to work, improve their conditions in life, educate their children, build happy homes and make themselves good citizens capable of doing good service to the country, simply and only because they are uneducated.

(Remarks of Senator James E. Martine of New Jersey in the United States Senate, April 18, 1912.)

MR. PRESIDENT: I cannot vote for the literacy test in this bill as a passport to this country. Forty to fifty years ago 90 per cent. of the immigrants that came to this country came from Ireland and Germany, and scarcely one of them could have stood this test; and yet all those immigrants, or practically all of them, became industrious citizens, amassed money, yes, fortunes through their thrift and ambition, and their children to-day are among the best citizens of this country. Education to a man or woman of evil character and disposition will make him or her most dangerous.

Mr. President, this test would have kept my mother, from whose bosom I drank the milk of justice and liberty, from this fair, fair land. I believe that this great country, blessed of God, can digest and assimilate all of the nations of the earth. I have no fear. Let our test be clean morals, sound and clean bodies, and, with a public school system, we can safely trust the rest to God. As Heaven is my witness, I will never vote to pass a measure that makes this ungenerous and unjust exaction on the part of a free people.

CONGESTION IN LARGE CITIES

With regard to congestion in large cities, which is also put forth as an argument for further restriction, the following taken from the abstracts of the report of the Immigration Commission shows how much this has been exaggerated:

(Extract from Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I., pp. 36-37.)

Of late years the general impression that owing to immigration the poorer districts of the large cities are greatly overcrowded and that in consequence the living conditions are unsanitary and even degrading, has been so prevalent that it seemed desirable to make a very thorough investigation of this question. In consequence, in seven cities—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo, Milwaukee—a very careful study was made of the conditions prevailing in the poorer quarters of the city inhabited by immigrants of various races. As was to be expected many extremely pitiful cases of poverty and overcrowding were found, at times six or seven, or even more people sleeping in one small room, sometimes without light or direct access by window or door to the open air. On the whole, however, the average conditions were found materially better than had been anticipated. Moreover, a comparison of the conditions in a great city like New York, or Chicago, with those in some of the smaller industrial centers, such as mining or manufacturing towns, shows that average conditions as respects overcrowding are very materially worse in some of the small industrial towns than in the large cities. For example, the per cent. of households having six or more persons per sleeping room of the race which showed the worst conditions in these large cities was only 5.2, whereas in the industrial centers studied in several cases the proportion was higher than this, and in the case of one race, as high as 9.5 per cent.

Moreover, in the large cities the population changes much more frequently than is generally thought. New immigrants are attracted to

these poorer residential quarters by the presence of friends or relatives and the necessity of securing living quarters at the lowest possible cost, but as their economic status improves after living in this country for some time, they very generally move to better surroundings. The undesirable districts of the cities that are now inhabited largely by recent immigrants were formerly populated by persons of the earlier immigrant races. Few of these are now found there, and these remnants ordinarily represent the economic failures—the derelicts—among a generation of immigrants which, for the most part, has moved to better surroundings.

In many instances, too, where deplorable conditions were found they were due in part at any rate, to circumstances over which the inhabitants have little direct control, such as a poor water supply or insanitary drainage—matters that should be attended to by the city authorities.

While instances of extreme uncleanness were found, the care of the households as regards cleanliness and an attempt to live under proper conditions was usually found unexpectedly good, about five-sixths of all the families visited in the poorer quarters of these large cities keeping their homes in reasonably good or fair condition.

There seems to be little doubt that the various races, owing presumably to their differing environments in Europe, differ somewhat as regards overcrowding and the care of their apartments, but the differences are less than might have been anticipated. The reports seem to indicate clearly that the chief cause of the overcrowding is a desire of the families to keep well within their income or to save money, even at the expense of serious discomfort for the present, in order that they may better their condition in the future. The worst conditions were found among those who live in boarding groups, largely unmarried men, whose purpose in the main is to save money in order that they may send it back to their home country or return thither themselves as soon as a sufficient amount has been secured.

RECENT COMMENTS ON PROPOSED IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PENDING DILLINGHAM BILL, S. 3175

ADMINISTERING THE IMMIGRATION ACTS

The ideal immigration law, like the ideal law on any subject within the competence of Congress, should embody certain elementary principles. It should state its purpose plainly instead of by implication. It should go at its purpose directly and not circuitously. It should be so worded as to give the least possible opportunity for the arbitrary exercise of administrative discretion, compatible with the execution of the people's will as expressed through their representatives in Congress. If, at any time, the majority of our people comes to be in favor of restricting immigration, such a policy should be frankly stated and honestly carried out. To legislate by means of administrative regulation is a common enough practice in every country. But it is a method that is peculiarly objectionable when applied to so human a problem as the right of free entry into this country. We cannot deal with men and women as Germany's tariff authorities deal with American cattle. When tariff relations between the two countries are pleasant, Germany's "sanitary" precautions against American meat products function kindly. When tariff difficulties arise, Germany need not resort to formal reprisals; the sanitary inspection of American food imports merely becomes very rigid. This is a form of

law-making by bureaucracy which we ought never to think of in connection with our immigration problem.

Such general considerations must enter into any just opinion of the bill for regulating immigration introduced by Senator Dillingham last summer, and reported with amendments by the Senate Committee on Immigration last week. Several of the provisions in this measure are objectionable, because they contravene the requirements of an honest, above-board immigration policy. The bill contains clauses that are apparently intended as entering wedges for restriction. Ingress into this country is to be surrounded with increased administrative formalities. The right of re-entry for aliens is put into question. By defining "aliens" for all administrative purposes of the law as all persons not native-born or naturalized citizens of the United States, questions are raised with regard to the wives and minor children of citizens. The provision for the exclusion of "persons not eligible to become citizens by naturalization" is intended as a restatement of the Chinese Exclusion acts, but contains the germs of possible misunderstanding with regard to Japanese, Koreans, Malays, and other Asiatics. More than that, it raises the danger of assimilating the execution of our general immigration laws to the methods pursued under the Chinese Exclusion acts. Administrative regulations that have hitherto come into play against the Chinese may tend to become general. Restriction will be apt to become exclusion. That may be the intention of the framers of the bill. If so, it should be honestly stated.

Objections of a like nature rise against that clause of the bill which provides that all immigrants shall secure certificates of admission and identity, as well as return certificates upon leaving this country. This not only builds up very serious difficulties about the process of entry and egress, in this country, but tends to create a registry or passport system which is alien to the spirit of our institutions, and, being applied only to one element in the population, takes on the character of class discrimination. In 1882, President Arthur in a well-known veto message declared:

"Without expressing an opinion on that point, I may invite the attention of Congress to the fact that the system of personal registration and passports is undemocratic and hostile to the spirit of our institutions. I doubt the wisdom of putting an entering wedge of this kind into our laws. A nation like the United States, jealous of the liberties of its citizens, may well hesitate before it incorporates into its policy a system which is fast disappearing in Europe before the progress of liberal institutions. A wide experience has shown how futile such precautions are, and how easily passports may be borrowed, exchanged, or even forged by persons interested to do so."

We need only think of the merry game of evasion that attends upon the execution of the Chinese Exclusion laws, to foresee the opportunities for fraud and the miscarriage of justice under a similar practice applied to our vast European immigration.

To a policy of regulation that is indeed regulation no objections can be made. Restriction upon European immigration so far has been almost entirely based on reasons of public health and public morals. It is stated that the deportations of aliens from this country constitute one per cent. of the total number of arrivals. Though this means a large number of persons in the aggregate, it is perhaps not too large a percentage of insurance against alien disease and crime. But to make medical inspection and administrative routine part of an unwritten scheme for check-

ing immigration is quite another thing. The intelligence and conscience of the country are not behind such measures.

—*New York Evening Post*,
January 24, 1912.

OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY

To the Editor of The Evening Post:

Sir: Your recent editorial on the Dillingham Immigration bill (S. 3175), now pending in the United States Senate, should appeal to all Americans. As the purpose of that bill is to amend and codify our immigration laws it should be carefully scrutinized. In addition to the objections named by you, it would give warrant to the average inspector to exclude more than a majority of the incoming immigrants. Under the law as it now stands at least forty thousand were deported during the last two years. The act of 1907, after enumerating several excluded classes, names beggars, paupers, and persons likely to become a public charge. Now, in addition, it is proposed by this bill to add in section three, a new class, denominated "vagrants." Under this head, inspectors must deport persons (otherwise admissible), "homeless," "wanderers," "who go from place to place," without occupation, and beggars, as defined by the dictionaries. Will not a large majority of immigrants, for the time being homeless, wanderers, without occupation, come under one of these definitions? Would it not have excluded many of our best citizens of foreign birth if adopted earlier in our history?

We all agree that undesirable aliens should be excluded; but home-seekers, otherwise admissible, should not be excluded even though "homeless and wanderers from place to place, and without actual occupation," even though illiterate, for such are needed to develop the unoccupied acreage of the South and West, and the abandoned farms of the Eastern and Middle States, with the intensive farming to which they were accustomed in the fatherland; and to open our mines and to build our roads, aqueducts, tunnels, and canals.

The term "vagrants" is otherwise unfortunate, as it is used by the police in making arrests of suspects and persons sought under extradition proceedings against whom no charges are brought for offences against local laws. When requested by chiefs of police in other jurisdictions to make such arrests, the charge of "vagrant" is used, for want of something definite. It is too elastic and can be used by immigration officials to exclude multitudes (otherwise admissible), to suit a policy of extreme restriction, on the part of biased immigration inspectors.

My point of view is that of a citizen, a taxpayer, a member of many patriotic ancestral societies, who loves his country, and honors its flag. As such I object to the proposed policy of extreme exclusion; I object to the proposed literacy test as applied to robust young farmers, and I believe that good results will follow the adoption of admitted aliens, as wards of the nation, until they acquire English and learn the rights and duties of citizenship.

J. AUGUSTUS JOHNSON,
New York Evening Post,
January 29, 1912.

Strong disapproval of the Dillingham bill reported by the Senate Committee, further restricting immigration, was expressed yesterday by Max J. Kohler of 30 Broad Street, who is a member of the Committee on Immigration of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, of which President-Emeritus Eliot of Harvard is Chairman. Since the bill was reported by Senator Lodge a similar bill, only more restrictive in that it restores the illiteracy test for immigrants which was dropped by the Senate Committee, has been introduced in the House of Representative Focht of Pennsylvania. Mr. Kohler took exception to both bills, as well as to the Lodge report on the Senate measure.

"That report," he said yesterday, "was calculated, very likely unintentionally, to keep the public in ignorance of radical changes of a revolutionary character in the proposed law. The vague language of the report and its failure to call attention to the important provisions of the bill are probably responsible for the failure of the press to refer to these radical changes which would not otherwise have escaped strong comment.

"One very important provision of this sort is veiled in the report by language referring simply to a proposed 'consolidation of the Chinese immigration service with the general immigration service in the interest of economy.' As a matter of fact, Section 3 of the bill, to which the report here alludes, excludes all persons not eligible to become citizens by naturalization, with specified exceptions, and provides for certificates of admission and identity for all admitted aliens against which certificates of readmission upon the departure of such aliens from the United States are to be issued.

WOULD VIOLATE TREATIES

"This provision is in substance a re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion laws, except that it extends them to other Asiatics such as Japanese, Koreans, Malays and the like. The statute would violate our treaties with China, with Japan (with whom we have now a 'gentleman's agreement' excluding only laborers), and with other countries, and would cause much friction. While it might ameliorate the Chinese exclusion laws somewhat, in some respects, and make them more oppressive in others, it would have a very bad effect in consolidating these laws with our general immigration laws, and accustom the immigration authorities—who would then enforce all these provisions in common—with the practice in vogue under the Chinese exclusion laws, of rejecting uncontradicted evidence in favor of aliens.

"More revolutionary still is the provision in Section 18, requiring all alien immigrants whatsoever to procure in duplicate 'certificates of admission and identification,' and return certificates, thus establishing a sort of 'ticket of leave' system for all aliens. What the use of the certificate would be is not apparent, as, unlike the Chinese exclusion laws, it is not made the exclusive method of establishing right of residence here—in which event it would be very oppressive, because of loss of certificates, changes in appearance, and impossibility of segregating aliens from American citizens and aliens who are now here, who are not required to have any certificates—and is not authority for readmission of such aliens, after trips abroad. Its enforcement would cost millions of dollars in the way of additional government employees to make out such certificates, and it would seriously retard ingress of all aliens into the country while the cer-

tificates are being prepared, and retard their egress on visits abroad while arranging to secure return certificates, and ignorance of these silly requirements would lead to many thousands of exclusions and deportations. A general discriminatory anti-alien feeling would be engendered by these provisions and even in the present form they probably are violative of treaty obligations toward foreign countries.

"We do not want to have paupers come here, nor persons likely to become paupers; nor anarchists, criminals, contract laborers, or persons mentally or physically defective. On the other hand, we do not want our laws to be so phrased as to keep out others who are desirable and whom this country needs."—*New York Times*, January 27, 1912.

(*Rev. Percy S. Grant, Minister of the Church of the Ascension, New York City, in the "North American Review," April, 1912:*)

The rapidity with which the democratic ideas are taken on by immigrants under the influence of our institutions is remarkable. I have personally had experiences with French-Canadians, Portuguese, Hebrews and Italians. These races have certainly taken advantage of their opportunities among us in a fashion to promise well for their final effect upon this country. The French-Canadian has become a sufficiently good American to have given up his earlier programme of turning New England into a new France—that is, into a Catholic province or of returning to the Province of Quebec. He is seeing something better than a racial or religious ideal in the freedom of American citizenship; and on one or two occasions, when he had political power in two municipalities, he refrained from exercising it to the detriment of the public school system. He has added a gracious manner and a new feeling for beauty to New England traits.

The Portuguese have taken up neglected or abandoned New England agricultural land and have turned it to productive and valuable use. Both the French-Canadian and the Portuguese have come to us by way of the New England textile mills.

The actual physical machinery of civilization—cotton-mills, woolen-mills, iron-mills, etc.—lock up a great deal of human energy, physical and mental, just as one hundred years ago the farms did, from which later sprang most of the members of our dominant industrial class. A better organization of society, by which machinery would do still more and afford a freer play for mental and physical energy and organization, would find a response from classes that are now looked upon as not contributing to our American culture; would unlock the high potentialities in the laboring classes, now unguessed and unexpended.

The intellectual problems and the advanced thinking of the Hebrew, his fondness for study and his freedom on the whole from wasteful forms of dissipation, sport, and mental stagnation, constitute him a more fortunate acquisition for this country than are thousands of the descendants of colonial settlers. In short, we must reconstruct our idea of democracy—of American democracy. This done, we must construct a new picture of citizenship. If we do these things we shall welcome the rugged strength of the peasant or the subtle thought of the man of the Ghetto in our reconsidered American ideals. *After all, what are these American ideals we boast so much about? Shall we say public schools, the ballot, freedom? The American stock use private schools when they*

can afford them; they too often leave town on Election Day; as for freedom, competent observers believe it is disappearing. The conservators and believers in American ideals seem to be our immigrants. To the Russian Jew, Abraham Lincoln is a god. If American ideals are such as pay honor to the intellectual and to the spiritual or foster human brotherhood or love culture and promote liberty, then they are safe with our new citizens who are eager for these things.

IMMIGRATION A VITAL QUESTION

Justin F. Denechaud, Secretary of the Louisiana State Board of Immigration, who is here attending the Southern Commercial Congress, said to-day:

"To the South more than to any other section of the country, immigration is a vital question. Those in charge of recommending to Congress changes in our immigration laws should bear in mind that our section is yet practically undeveloped. In my state alone, Louisiana, with an area of more than 29,000,000 acres, only five million acres, or about one-sixth, is now developed.

"Not only do we need a large population to till the soil, but we also need laborers to build railroads and ditches. Where is this labor to come from unless it is from the countries of Europe? The European immigrant was admitted and furnished for the North, East and West in their development. I do not wish to be misunderstood and to mean that the government should let down the bars and admit the undesirables, but I do mean that the bars should not be put so high as only the educated and the man with means shall be permitted to enter this country. The passage of such a law as is being asked of Congress from many quarters will deprive the South of its needed labor. The rapid development of the agricultural lands in the South will be the means of checking immigration of the American farmer into frozen Canada."—*Nashville (Tenn.) Banner*, April 8, 1912.

The Western and Southern States need more white people. They are all thinly populated, and they will surely be heard from when the proposed literacy test comes to a final vote.

Underlying the Dillingham-Lodge bill is the fetish of Teutonic superiority and Latin degeneracy, and even of the ancient jealousy of all race mixtures as a danger to the American stock and to American ideals. These notions were long ago disproven. This country still needs and long will need all the honest, able bodied men it can secure, no matter what European country furnishes them.—*Birmingham (Ala.) Age-Herald*, April 25, 1912.

PROPOSED IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

The effort to restrict immigration comes partly from a labor element that fears competition and partly from a social element that has little or no knowledge of the history and the results of immigration in this country. The effort to restrict by an educational clause in the immigration law is a makeshift, an evasion of an issue that the politician does not wish to meet openly. It will not exclude the criminal, the diseased or the otherwise undesirable. It will exclude many whose muscles are needed and whose exclusion would retard our economic development. If Congress

believes that the labor market is, or is immediately likely to be, unduly overcrowded and our interests thereby endangered, it is within the power of that body to prohibit immigration or to limit the number of arrivals for a period of years. But the real trouble is not in the number of those who come. Broadly, the labor market is not overcrowded. Wages have risen in the term of the heaviest immigration in the history of the country. The difficulties of the question are behind the gates and not at them.—*New York Sun*, May 6, 1912.

THE LITERACY TEST

The proposed literacy test would keep out a great many immigrants, but it is doubtful if it would exclude the really undesirable aliens, the proletariat that produces social ferment in dense alien populations.

Criminals are not the illiterates as a rule. Some education is required to write Black Hand letters and some degree of intelligence is needed to make bombs.—*Jersey City (N. J.) Journal*, May 11, 1912.

THE LITERACY TEST

The literacy test cannot be made too general—or all immigrants would be barred. A mere smattering of knowledge would be of little benefit to an immigrant. Among the very poor, it is usually the man of little education who is the malcontent—and it most frequently happens that the criminal classes are recruited from that class.

The able-bodied illiterate is of more value to this country than the physical weak—with a scant education.

The literacy test is a poor one. So widespread is the protest against the bills that enactment seems very improbable.—*Fargo (N. D.) Forum*, May 16, 1912.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION

Would any real advantage come to the country from the enactment of the Dillingham immigration bills? One familiar argument for it is that the United States is receiving immigrants now who are not readily assimilable. But it is not illiteracy that makes the immigrant from parts of Southern and Eastern Europe unassimilable. If he cannot be assimilated it is because his racial unlikeness to the settlers of this continent is too great. But the literacy test will keep out only a fraction of the alien races. The problem of their assimilation will remain unsolved.

Nor will the literacy test be sure to keep out the least desirable of the arriving immigrants. It is not usually the man who cannot read and write who recruits an anarchist population here. It is the "intellectual proletariat" of Europe which, coming here, congregates in cities and adds to their ferment. The man who works with his hands has always found his place readily in this country, and if he ever makes trouble, by strikes and rioting, it is only as he begins to be assimilated and to develop the American standard of living. Again, the criminals who come to this country and are one of the gravest evils of immigration are seldom of the illiterate class. Illiterates do not write Black Hand letters. It is worth of note also that some of the illiterates who come here do not require to be assimilated. They form a sort of international balance of labor, moving

back and forth between this country and Europe as their services are required, and always intending to live finally in their old home.—*New York Tribune*, May 9, 1912.

LITERACY TEST FOR VOTING, NOT FOR WORKING

In the vigorous protest against the Dillingham bill "to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States," which slipped so easily through the Senate and is now before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, a special point is made against the clause which would include among those to be denied admission to the country, "all aliens over sixteen years of age and physically capable of reading and writing who cannot read and write the English language or some other language." * * * The objection to the admission of illiterate aliens seems to come mainly from two sources—from organizations of workingmen already here, mostly of alien origin, who wish to restrict competition in labor, and from those who regard as politically or socially dangerous large masses of "ignorant foreigners," who gather in industrial centers, like the factory towns and mining districts, and who are easily led into lawless demonstrations in time of excitement.

Many immigrants are unfortunately illiterate, without fault of their own, and without lacking intelligence and character which will make them useful and peaceable subjects of a free government. Most of them are industrious and thrifty, and a large proportion are desirous of learning and of having their children educated. They are capable of becoming a desirable element in the working population and most of them do become so.—*New York Journal of Commerce*, May 19, 1912.

IMMIGRATION

In general it may be said that the literacy test is the poorest possible means of determining the value of a prospective immigrant. * * *

Immigration has been one of the most essential factors in the development and prosperity of the United States. A great part of the country is still but sparsely settled and no part is so overcrowded that there is not room for many more. Intelligent distribution of immigration would be a much wiser policy than restriction by a literacy test.—*Buffalo (N. Y.) Express*, May 9, 1912.

THE MASS MEETING TO-DAY

The mass meeting this afternoon at the Star Theatre is called to voice the protest of Buffalo against unwise and unjust restriction in immigration laws of the United States.

That this protest will be logical in significance, spirited in expression and impressive in the numbers supporting it, is certain. * * *

The Times believes the sterling citizenship of Buffalo, irrespective of nationality, is with that large portion of our population which has taken the lead in this matter.

We have equal faith that the citizenship of the nation is with it, too.

Every American, except the few aboriginal inhabitants of this country, is an immigrant or the descendant of an immigrant.

Without immigrants, there could have been no civilized nation on this continent.

If all the restrictions on immigration, which are now exercised, or which are pending, had been put in force against the Puritan Fathers of New England, the Catholics who settled Maryland, the Cavaliers who built the first settlement in Virginia, the Quakers who established Philadelphia and the poor debtors who founded Georgia, the beginnings of this Republic would have been nipped in the bud.

It is proposed to exclude worthy immigrants because they can't read and write.

Daniel Boone couldn't read and write.

The literacy test is no test at all.

Many of the best known men of Buffalo, men prominent in manifold walks of life, men distinguished as clergymen, officials, lawyers, publicists and orators, constitute the corps of speakers at to-day's mass meeting.

There is no need to anticipate the arguments of such men.

The duty of the occasion is to do all that is in us to maintain the hospitality of the United States, that quality which has made this country the refuge of the oppressed throughout the world, and which has been repaid to America many times over by the loyalty, the blood, the toil, the money and the patriotism of her foreign-born citizens.—*Buffalo (N. Y.) Times*, May 12, 1912.

"OUR FOREIGN ELEMENT"

That there should be very vigorous opposition to the so-called Dillingham immigration bill, now under discussion in the United States Senate, is not to be wondered at.

Had the restrictions it seeks to impose been in force during the last sixty or seventy years, the country would have been deprived of thousands upon thousands of immigrants who came here and made good, and whose descendants are to-day among the very flower of American citizenship.

A test of illiteracy is not a fair test. Cardinal Gibbons puts the case strongly and truthfully when he says that illiteracy is not ignorance or incompetence—that if the immigrant is industrious and thrifty he will make a useful citizen, whether he be literate or illiterate.

The thousands who have been coming to Lowell and kindred communities during the last fifteen or twenty years, and against whose kind the Dillingham bill is aimed, have shown themselves to be both industrious and thrifty.

And they have recently given striking demonstrations that they are no more minded to work for too low wages than are other nationalities whose immigration began earlier—that they want to lift themselves up to the American standard of living, not pull that standard down.

They are seeking to adapt themselves to American ways, and are making more rapid progress than is generally appreciated. The "natives" will profit by getting in touch with them and lending a helping hand.

They are, too, as a rule, temperate as well as industrious and thrifty. Few of them are seen in the police court, and fewer still in the almshouse.—*Lowell (Mass.) Telegram*, May 12, 1912.

THE BROAD VIEW

Every effort to restrict immigration on the ground of illiteracy alone has proved a failure from the beginning of the agitation for it, many years ago. The great majority of the people have been opposed to it since their

attention was called to it by the able veto message of President Cleveland when such a bill reached him for consideration. The bill had gone through Congress with little debate, but he put a stop to the movement for restraint of the kind provided in the bill and it has made no progress since then, even with the large immigration from Southern Europe that alarms a number of excellent citizens.—*Buffalo (N. Y.) Express*, May 13, 1912.

ILLIBERAL AND HARSH REQUIREMENTS

This Senate bill makes ability to read and write in some language or dialect one of the requirements for the admission of those over sixteen years of age. The immigrants from a certain number of countries are excluded from this requirement, but it applies generally to all immigrants from Europe except certain relatives of immigrants who are themselves admissible. It is as moderate an application of the illiteracy disqualification as can well be made, yet it is felt by many good people to be harsh and unfair and vigorous protests are being made against it.

If to be totally illiterate means always to be idle or stupid it would be an entirely proper test for exclusion. But some immigrants fleeing from hard conditions and an oppressive government in the Old World have never had an opportunity to learn to read or write. Their labor would be acceptable here and their inability to read would not necessarily prevent their being orderly and self-supporting citizens. A man who has been denied opportunities to learn to read may be intelligent in spite of his illiteracy. A man of brains and brawn in good health and of unimpeachable character should not be barred out of this land because conditions beyond his control have prevented him from learning to read.—*Philadelphia (Pa.) Press*, May 14, 1912.

THE DILLINGHAM BILL

The Dillingham bill now pending in Congress marks a wide departure from the generally accepted theory followed for many years concerning immigration. To restrict and to restrain are the cardinal principles of the proposed act. Heretofore the main idea of legislation has been to regulate and not to prevent. There are those who believe that the time has come when such a change as that now proposed is necessary; that an absolute barrier must be raised against the hordes of those aliens who certainly are not elevating the standard of citizenship. On the other hand, the question is asked whether it is wise or humane to refuse a refuge and a haven to those who simply have been so unfortunate as to be born or reared in countries possessing less natural advantages or less endowed with the blessings of liberty. * * *

A man who cannot read or write is not necessarily unworthy. Illiteracy is a misfortune, not a crime, and the illiterate should not have the door of opportunity shut in his face because he was unable to enjoy in his own land the advantages of education. Such a law penalizes misfortune and is un-American.—*Buffalo (N. Y.) Commercial*, May 15, 1912.

ILLITERACY NOT IGNORANCE

Last Sunday afternoon a meeting was held in this city to protest against the passage of the Dillingham and Burnett bills, now pending in Congress.

The principal bone of contention is the senseless educational test.

The speakers were Adelbert Moot, Col. John B. Weber, former representative and commissioner of immigration, who has made a study of the immigration problem; Representative Charles B. Smith, Health Commissioner Fronczak and Dr. Borzilleri.

The suggested educational test is uncalled for, unnecessary, silly. Thousands of immigrants who were unable to read, unable to write, have come to this country. They have made good. Their citizenship is of the first class. They have been builders. The nation could not well have done without them.—*Buffalo (N. Y.) Times*, May 16, 1912.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

Of course, paupers and criminals should be excluded. They should stay where they are produced. They will not develop our country. But those who will develop our resources and strength ought to be welcomed. That is a plain principle, but at present it is openly or covertly opposed on grounds that will not stand examination. In its extreme of narrow absurdity it appears in the policy urged and adopted in Australia, where, in the assumed interest of labor, it would discourage even white immigration. The one and only argument back of all these exclusion rules is, confessed or unconfessed, that a paucity of labor is desired by a class of laborers, so that they may secure larger wages by the resulting competition for it. There then follows for them an increased cost of living by the increased price of products, and the process goes on, more cost of living, more wages.

The Dillingham bill now being considered in Congress is another law intended to unify our laws for restricting population by immigration. The purpose we do not approve. We regard it as unwise in political economy, and ungenerous and indefensible morally. It is of the same ethical type as the action of the titled passengers on the lifeboat only half filled who were unwilling to try to save others that were struggling in the sea. Immigrants come here to improve their condition a great deal; they are told they must not do it for fear we shall be crowded a little.

Senator Dillingham's able defense of the bill brings out some important admissions resulting from the very careful investigation of the conditions of immigration. It appears that immigrants as a body are choice people, the choice of their race, whatever that race may be. They have more than usual enterprise. They are of those who have ambition to improve their condition. They are strong and healthy young people. They are able and willing to work. It appears further than an illiteracy test does not shut out criminals; criminals generally can read. Immigrants are, on the whole, picked people. The children of immigrants attend our public schools more faithfully than do the children of native parents. Further, there is no effort on the part of foreign governments to dump their undesirable citizens on our shores. No evidence of that could be found. * * *

The main provision is that those who cannot read are excluded. The argument given for this exclusion is not that the illiterate are not useful laborers, nor that they are more criminal, but that they take the unskilled fields of labor, and that these fields are overcrowded. Evidence of this is that the annual income of such laborers in the coal and steel industries, as compared with their daily wage, shows that there are considerable periods of non-employment. It is not made clear that such cessation from work is due to the failure of work to do. We judge that those who are willing

to work steadily can get work, and it would not be bad if those who are less faithful should be crowded into other less toilsome and less remunerative pursuits. The purpose of the bill is to exclude common laborers, such as work in mines or on railroads. It is further the aim to shut out those who do not desire to make their permanent home here, for nearly half of those who come go back to live. If this is the case, one would think it would please these enemies of immigration. The young men come here, enrich the country more by their work than we are impoverished by the money we pay them, and which they send or carry back to Italy or Hungary, and they do not remain to be further competitors in the labor market; and yet the bill tries to exclude these temporary creators of wealth. The policy and purpose are indefensible—*The Independent, New York, May 16, 1912.*

LITERACY TEST FOR VOTING

The Senate passed the Dillingham bill to limit immigration by means of a literacy test, but the House hesitates, and public sentiment is rapidly changing in relation to the bill. * * *

The Dillingham bill proposes to exclude "all aliens over sixteen years of age and physically capable of reading and writing who cannot read and write the English language or some other language." This would shut out many immigrants who would soon become useful citizens. If the country had a better plan of distribution—if immigrants were landed at other ports than New York, no objection to their coming here would arise. Better distribution and a delay in naturalization would be better remedies. In other words the literacy test should arise when admission to citizenship is applied for and not to admission to residence in the country. If we apply it to the latter we turn our backs on our traditions and on thousands whose only crime is the plotting for freedom against tyranny at home. We are not ready to stand for despotism and against liberty even to please some senators.—*Birmingham (Ala.) Age-Herald, May 17, 1912.*

THE LITERACY TEST

The literacy test is undoubtedly the weak feature of the Dillingham immigration bill. In the opinion of Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, illiteracy does not stand in the way of assimilation, and we should imagine that this was the correct view to take of the matter. The illiterate man comes to our shores with his mind in a receptive condition. He is willing and even anxious to learn our methods of doing things. He has remained illiterate because his opportunities for education have been few. Here he will find many such opportunities, and if he is the right sort he will be quick to take advantage of them. It isn't the illiterate man, as a rule, that we have to fear, but the man who comes here laboring under the delusion that he knows it all, so to speak, and is unwilling to be taught. These are the sort of men who are apt to turn dangerous agitators and sometimes do. If a man has a strong, healthy body and a well balanced mind he should be a most desirable immigrant, no matter whether he is illiterate or not. If illiterate he will work and acquire an education in spite of the poor start he has had at home. Capacity for work and willingness to perform it more than counterbalance a failure to stand a literacy test. Such a test is therefore palpably undesirable.—*Brockton (Mass.) Times, May 27, 1912.*

Better no legislation at all on the immigration question than bad legislation. The voice of the nation has declared too emphatically against such propositions as that of the Root amendment for the deportation to their countries of political refugees and the proposition to shut out some of our most useful elements of citizenship by imposing a literacy test.—*Newark (N. J.) Star*, May 30, 1912.

SIFTING THE IMMIGRANTS

What qualities do we want in our immigrants to make them a welcome addition to our population? Without undertaking to give a comprehensive answer to this question, there are certainly four qualities which are needed:

Good physical health.

The economic virtues, such as temperance, honesty and thrift.

A desire to become Americans, and the purpose to remain in America.

Capacity to become assimilated with the American population.

And the classes which we desire to exclude from America are also four:

Physical, mental and moral degenerates.

Idlers, agitators and cranks. We can breed all of these we want without help from the Old World.

Transients who come here to earn a little money, to live as near the edge of poverty as possible, to be while in this country Hungarians, Italians, Poles and the like, and to return to their homes as soon as they have accumulated a meager competence.

Those whose race peculiarities are such as make intermarriage with the American people and assimilation into the American nation undesirable, if not impossible.

What the nation wants of Congress is such legislation as will sift our immigration on the lines indicated above.

No simple provision, such as a perfunctory test of reading and writing, or a certain amount of money in hand, or the demand of a larger head tax, will suffice to solve our immigrant problem. We must either be willing to organize an effective and competent method of selecting the immigrants we want, or we must continue to take them as they come and do the best we can with them when they are here.—*The Outlook*, *New York*, June 1, 1912.

ILLITERACY AND IMMIGRATION

One honest hard-working illiterate, who lives clean and raises a decent family, is worth a hundred of the inefficients our schools turn out annually, who can read and write, but who are too fine to work and who are utterly useless in the civilization they live in. We place too high an estimate upon mere literacy; but if we paid more attention to teaching children that morality which comprehends respect for parents and law and the necessity of earning bread by the sweat of their face, we would not be troubled so much with the envy and discontent which are the outgrowth of laziness and inefficiency.

The literacy test for the exclusion of immigrants is the sheerest humbug; had such a law been in force since the early seventeenth cen-

tury America would still be a howling wilderness. The American troubles of the twentieth century are not the fruits of illiteracy and immigration; they are made right here on the soil by those born on the soil, by the lazy, the inefficient, the envious, the unsuccessful—all the products of our public schools. Go to your prisons some time and learn how many of the inmates are illiterates. When literacy has become a synonym for sanity, honesty, industry and physical soundness it will be time enough to make illiteracy a barrier for admission to the Republic. I would rather have an illiterate who can steer a plough, wield a sledge, roof a house, lay brick, or dig a good sewer than a dozen half-baked chaps who can write dog and read cat and who are willing to live on the labor of a father and mother. Let Congress face the question fairly and let the government back up the immigration authorities in enforcing the laws we have. The illiterate test is pure punk, just plain flapdoodle.—*Boston (Mass.) Morning Herald*, June 3, 1912.

LABOR SCARCITY AND IMMIGRATION

All of these facts may serve to remind us how fortunate the country has been to escape the limitation of immigration which was so warmly urged in the last session of Congress, and still threatens. There could be no greater folly from the industrial point of view than to require, as does this bill, that every one shall be excluded who cannot pass a literacy test and show some knowledge of English. For certain lines of work no American-born laborers are available—particularly is this true of unskilled labor in the iron and steel trades. In them such a restriction would speedily become crippling. It is no answer to this that conditions of work should be so attractive as to bring it to a higher class of men. Much can be done, indubitably, in this direction. But American labor will enter certain lines of work on no terms. Foreign labor will; why should it be compelled to master a new tongue before entering? For decades past the heavy outdoor work has been done by Irish, or negroes, or Italians, or Slavs; the history of many a long-established industry is the story of first one nationality and then another carrying it onward. The United States needs immigration more than any other country because here men rise rapidly in the social scale, as they cannot elsewhere. The sons and daughters of one generation of day toilers are clerks or artisans. And to put up the bars at this particular period in our history would be to deal a blow in advance to our coming prosperity.—*New York Evening Post*, September 23, 1912.

THE ILLITERACY TEST

The spirit of the Statue of Liberty in the harbor of New York, which to immigrants catching their first sight of America symbolizes the land of freedom, equality, and democracy, was well represented by the New York delegation in Congress yesterday, when the entire group of Democrats from that State went on record in caucus against the immigration bill, with its unfair illiteracy test for incoming foreigners.

If the United States made any pretensions to being a country dedicated exclusively to the "upper classes," the erudite, and the fastidious, the immigration bill which has been included in the Democratic program for the present session would be an accurate reflection of such senti-

ments. If, however, the United States is to remain what it was intended to be—a haven for the oppressed, the lover of liberty and freedom, the toiler, and the ambitious—then the present bill is a step backward toward an exclusiveness which, if exercised 100 years ago, would have paralyzed the growth of the nation.

The illiteracy test would have robbed the country of some of its strongest and greatest men. Some of the ablest lawyers at the bar, the noblest humanitarians, the best and most progressive business men of to-day are the progeny of parents who could neither read nor write when they came to the United States.

Is opportunity to be denied to all those who have not had the advantage of an education in the countries where they were born? Many of the immigrants who can neither read nor write are the quickest students, once they have landed on American soil. Barring them from entering this country will deprive the nation of the rich blood that is needed if the country is to continue to grow as it has grown in the past.

Many American-born men and women have been unable to obtain an education until they were well on in life, and yet have grown into fine manhood and womanhood. Criminals are frequently well educated, and so are many incompetents. The country needs as many healthy European immigrants as will come here, and the only tests that should be applied are those of health and morality.—*Washington Post*, December 5, 1912.

RESOLUTIONS

(Memorial and resolutions adopted at a Mass Meeting held at Cooper Union, May 5, 1912.)

From the establishment of our government, it has been its consistent policy not only to permit, but to encourage immigration into the United States. In consequence, our resources have been developed, new and important industries have been established, the great West has been peopled, and we have been blessed by a prosperity which is unparalleled in the annals of history. But for this liberal policy there would have been a dearth in the land, of that vital energy which is an essential to material and moral improvement. A considerable percentage of those who have largely contributed to the progressiveness of our nation, are either immigrants themselves or the sons and daughters of immigrants.

While the right and the duty of our government to regulate immigration is conceded, to the end that those who would imperil our prosperity and the permanence of our institutions should be excluded, it would be a genuine misfortune if any laws arbitrarily restrictive of immigration were enacted. It would be retrogression. It would close our gates to the oppressed who have hitherto been afforded refuge, and to those who supply strong arms and stout hearts to our industrial activities and further the increase of our national wealth.

Senate Bill 3175, known as the Dillingham Bill, and similar legislation now pending in Congress, if enacted, would operate as a reversal of that policy which has hitherto so signally contributed to our national greatness. Their most significant feature is the literacy test. This proposed restriction is conceded by its authors, to be purely arbitrary. It would not exclude those who are inimical to our form of government, for they are usually highly educated. It would not keep out those who

are physically, mentally or morally degenerate. On the contrary, it will affect principally those whose brawn and muscle, and whose obedience to law and authority, make them especially useful and desirable, as additions to our population.

It is this part of our immigrants which has built our railroads, canals, tunnels and aqueducts; which labors in our mines, on our public highways, and upon our farms, which are being deserted by those of American birth. It is they who laboriously toil in those occupations which are avoided by our older population. Many of them learn to read and write after they arrive here. Their children avail themselves of the educational opportunities which are afforded them, and in a few years are not distinguishable from the descendants of the early settlers. If this test had been applied to the immigration of the last sixty years, it would not only have seriously impaired our working capacity, but it would have deprived the country of great moral and ethical forces, which have strengthened the public sense of solidarity.

The test proposed is, the ability to read and write various clauses of the Constitution of the United States, a test with which many of our native-born citizens would find it difficult to comply. To require a foreigner, unfamiliar with our political phraseology, to undergo successfully such an examination, under the most trying conditions, with none to sit in judgment but an inspection officer, would be most unjust. If it were deliberately intended to enmesh and entangle him, it could not be more effectually accomplished. Immigration should not be confounded with naturalization.

The pending bills are further objectionable, because they contain a provision in the nature of a ticket-of-leave, which practically requires an immigrant, at his peril, to keep in his possession a certificate issued to him on his arrival and another, added in the tumult of debate, which though with proper protective clauses now absent, might be appropriate in a neutrality law, has no possible relevancy to an immigration act, by which an alien charged with a conspiracy for the violent overthrow of a foreign government, may be summarily deported to his death, without the right of trial by jury and without judicial hearing of any kind, even though he may himself be the victim of criminal espionage and conspiracy.

Believing for these reasons that the passage of the pending bills would be an unqualified misfortune to the country, and give rise to grave injustice and gross abuses,

IT IS RESOLVED, by this assemblage, composed of citizens who have given to this subject mature thought, that it vigorously protests against the proposed legislation, and fervently prays that no immigration laws be enacted which shall not be in complete accord with the principles which we have herein advocated; that copies of this Memorial be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and to every Senator and Representative in Congress, and that they be urgently requested to oppose the enactment of these proposed restrictive laws, as being detrimental to our common welfare and inconsistent with those American ideals which have given the stimulus of humanity to the conscience of the world.

(At a town meeting held in Philadelphia, May 8, 1912, at Musical Fund Hall, under the chairmanship of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, President of the German-American Alliance, the following Preamble and Resolutions were adopted:)

WHEREAS, The United States Senate has passed the Dillingham Bill and the Burnett Bill is now before the House of Representatives, both of which contain educational tests for immigrants, BE IT RESOLVED by the citizens of Philadelphia in meeting assembled that we are unqualifiedly opposed to an educational test for immigrants.

We hold that existing law prohibits the incoming of criminals, paupers, lunatics, persons of immoral life, those afflicted with contagious diseases, and all others who may reasonably be regarded as dangerous to the public welfare or likely to become burdens upon the public purse. These provisions are sufficient for the exclusion of all unfit immigrants and any further restriction must inevitably result in inhumanity and wrong.

That the literacy requirement is not a fair measure of moral worth, of economic value, of mental capacity or civic worth.

Experience proves that moral soundness—simply honesty—is independent of intellectual culture. The vast majority of those ignorant of letters are morally sound, while a minority of the literate are morally defective despite their education.

The proposed changes in existing law is a reversal of the fundamental principles of our free government and the history and traditions of our country. It has been the consistent will and policy of the people of the United States that this land should ever be a refuge for the oppressed and persecuted of the earth. It is inconceivable that a free and prosperous people, whose institutions are founded upon the broadest humanity and the most explicit recognition of the rights of man, could wish to close its ports against peaceable, honest, worthy and industrious men and women seeking for themselves and their children political, religious and industrial freedom. To turn them back, because of defective education, to the oppression and misery from which they are escaping, would be for this nation, stultification and shame.

We further protest against Section 18 of the Senate Bill which is of a far reaching character, has the result of placing worthy immigrants upon the same plane as persons sent to penal colonies and will undoubtedly work hardship. It, moreover, virtually establishes an internal passport system which up to this time has only been known in the most autocratic of governments.

Resolved, That a copy of these Resolutions be sent to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(Resolutions adopted at a Mass Meeting at Faneuil Hall, Boston, May 5, 1912.

Resolved, That this meeting of the citizens of Boston protests against the adoption of the Dillingham and Burnett bills as being un-American in spirit and harmful to the best interests of the future people of the United States.

Further, that the Chairman of the committee organizing this meeting shall appoint a committee of five who shall proceed to Washington to

urge upon the individual members of the House of Representatives and upon the officials of the parties the objections of this meeting to the proposed good conduct certificates for immigrants.

(Resolution adopted by a Mass Meeting of the citizens of Cleveland, May 9, 1912.)

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the House of Representatives, two measures known as the Dillingham Bill (S. B. No. 3175) and the Burnett Bill (H. R. No. 22527) both of which provide that a literacy test be applied to all immigrants entering the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Dillingham Bill, in addition to a literacy test provides that all immigrants be required to carry with them a certificate of identity; and

WHEREAS, We not only regard those provisions as hostile to the spirit of our American institutions, but also believe that they would work injustice to worthy immigrants and deprive our country of an element which on the basis of experience would develop into worthy citizenship; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such restrictive legislation will seriously retard the commercial and industrial progress of this country, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Cleveland, in mass meeting assembled, representing every element of our citizenship, protest against the passage of Senate Bill No. 3175 and House Bill No. 22527, and that we earnestly appeal to our Representatives in Congress to put forth every effort at their command for the purpose of defeating these two measures. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these Resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and to our Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

(Resolutions adopted by citizens of St. Louis, Mo., in Mass Meeting, May 1, 1912.)

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the House of Representatives two measures known as the Dillingham Bill (S. B. No. 3175) and the Burnett Bill (H. R. No. 22527) both of which provide that a literacy test be applied to all immigrants entering the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Dillingham Bill in addition to a literacy test provides in section 18 thereof that all immigrants be required to carry with them a certificate of identity, and

WHEREAS, These measures are so un-American in spirit, so inhuman in their effect as to practically mean the closing of the gates of America in the faces of those worthy immigrants who seek shelter in the United States from religious and political persecution, and

WHEREAS, We believe that such restrictive legislation will seriously hamper the proper development of our country and retard its commercial progress, therefore be it

Resolved, That we hereby protest against the passage of Senate Bill No. 3175 and House Bill No. 22527 and that we earnestly appeal to

our representatives in Congress to use every legitimate means at their command for the purpose of defeating these two measures; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, and to our representatives in the Congress of the United States.

(Resolutions adopted by the Common Council of the City of Johnstown, New York, April 29, 1912.)

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the House of Representatives, two measures known as Dillingham Bill (S. B. 3175) and the Burnett Bill (H. R. No. 22527) both of which provide that a literacy test be applied to all immigrants entering the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Dillingham Bill, in addition to a literacy test, provides in Section 18 thereof that all immigrants be required to carry with them a certificate of identity; and

WHEREAS, These measures are so un-American in spirit, so inhuman in their effect as to practically mean the closing of the gates of America in the faces of those worthy immigrants who seek shelter in the United States from religious and political prosecution; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such restrictive legislation will seriously hamper the proper development of our country and retard its commercial progress, therefore be it

Resolved, That we hereby protest against the passage of Senate Bill No. 3175 and House Bill No. 22527, and that we earnestly appeal to our representative in Congress to use every legitimate means at his command for the purpose of defeating these two measures. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these Resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and to our representatives in the Congress of the United States.

(Resolutions of Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, June 3, 1912.)

Our national boast has been that this country was the refuge for the downtrodden and oppressed, who in a healthy bodily and mental condition, and with a law abiding spirit, sought entrance at our gates with a view of making this country their home and taking their chances with us. This sentiment has built up our national idea of free Americanism. The immigration of the able-bodied and honestly inclined has contributed in a large degree to the greatness and prosperity of this republic.

In the line of our tradition and of the principle that has guided us in the past, through means of which our country stands pre-eminent as the land of liberty and freedom and equal opportunity, we cannot afford to close our doors to those who still unfortunately suffer from oppression existing in foreign lands, merely because they cannot read, although otherwise qualified for admission under existing laws.

The proposed educational test, if enacted into law, will affect the immigration of the very people this country needs most, namely, the honest, thrifty, industrious and self-supporting laboring classes; and in this respect they are harsh and oppressive measures.

When the various phases of this question are considered we cannot but reach the conclusion that if any of the proposed bills, requiring the educational test for immigrants seeking admission to this country is enacted into law it will not only be against the policies of this country, under which it has grown to greatness, but against the interests of the Nation at large and especially against the best interests of Pennsylvania.

(Resolutions of Italian-American business Men's Association, Buffalo, N. Y., May 8, 1912.)

Resolved, That we, the Italian-American Business Men's Association of the city of Buffalo, New York, representing the sentiment of 60,000 Italians in Buffalo and western New York, earnestly protest against the enactment of any law which denies the right of entry to the United States of those who, through no fault of their own, have failed to receive an education; we denounce the illiteracy test proposed in the Dillingham and Burnett bills as un-American in spirit and opposed to the principles on which this nation was founded, namely, that it is the haven and refuge of the oppressed of every land; that it is antagonistic to the commercial and industrial advancement of this country.

Among the large number of prominent persons who have signified their opposition to any restrictive legislation are the following:

MISS JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

RT. REV. EDWARD P. ALLEN, Bishop of Mobile, Ala.

JOHN BIGELOW, author, former United States Minister to France.

WALLACE M. BELL, President Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce.

RT. REV. FR. BERNARD, New York City.

RT. REV. THOMAS BONACUM, Bishop of Lincoln, Neb.

CHARLES F. BORZILLERI, M. D., Buffalo, N. Y.

RT. REV. BONAVENTURE F. BRODERICK, Tit. Bishop of Juliopolis.

REV. EUGENE M. CALLAGHAN.

JOSEPH CARABELLI, Esq., Cleveland, O.

HON. GEORGE P. CODD, Detroit, Mich.

RT. REV. CHARLES H. COLTON, Bishop of Buffalo.

RT. REV. FROWIN CONRAD, Conception, Mo.

RT. REV. IGNATIUS CONRAD, Speilerville, Ark.

RT. REV. JAMES HENRY DARLINGTON, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Harrisburg.

RT. REV. P. J. DONOHUE, Bishop of Wheeling, W. Va.

RT. REV. ALBERICK DUNLEA, Dubuque, Ia.

HON. E. F. DUNNE, Chicago, Ill.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, President-Emeritus, Harvard University.

CARDINAL FARLEY, Archbishop of New York.

RT. REV. JOHN S. FOLEY, Bishop of Detroit, Mich.

HON. ALAN C. FOBES, Mayor of Syracuse, N. Y.

RT. REV. P. J. GARRIGAN, Bishop of Sioux City.

MOST REV. JOHN J. GLENNON, Archbishop of St. Louis.
 HON. FRANK W. GNICHTEL, Trénton, N. J.
 RT. REV. THOMAS GRACE, Bishop of Sacramento.
 RT. REV. THOMAS HESLIN, Bishop of Natchez.
 RT. REV. LEO HAID, Bishop of Belmont, N. C.
 EDWARD L. HEARN, Supreme Knight, Knights of Columbus.
 RT. REV. JOHN Y. HOGAN, Bishop of Kansas City.
 JOHN J. HYNES, Supreme President, Catholic Mutual Benefit Association.
 MOST REV. JOHN IRELAND, Archbishop of St. Paul.
 RT. REV. NEPOMUCENE JAEGER, Chicago, Ill.
 HON. TOM L. JOHNSON, late Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio.
 RT. REV. MATHIAS C. LENIHAN, Bishop of Great Falls, Mont.
 RT. REV. CAMILLUS PAUL MAES, Bishop of Covington.
 RT. REV. JAMES A. McFAUL, Bishop of Trenton.
 RT. REV. CHARLES H. MOHR, St. Leo, Fla.
 DR. S. M. NEWMAN, President Eastern College, Front Royal, Va.
 W. W. NILES, Bishop of New Hampshire.
 RT. REV. CHARLES SANFORD OLMSTED, Bishop of Colorado.
 FREDERICK J. PAXON, President, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.
 MOST REV. J. E. QUIGLEY, Archbishop of Chicago, Ill.
 BERNARD J. ROTHWELL, President, Boston Chamber of Commerce.
 RT. REV. JAMES SCHWEBACH, Bishop of La Crosse.
 REV. THOMAS R. SLICER, All Souls Church, New York.
 RT. REV. PAUL SCHAEUBLE, Covington, La.
 RT. REV. JOHN SCARBOROUGH, Bishop of New Jersey.
 RT. REV. J. W. SHANNAN, Bishop of Harrisburg.
 JOHN J. D. TRENOR, Member of National Board of Trade.
 RT. REV. DANIEL S. TUTTLE, Bishop of Missouri.
 RT. REV. A. VAN DE VYVER, Bishop of Richmond, Va.
 P. VERDAGNER, Vicar Apostolic of Brownsville, Tex.
 ELI S. WARNER, President, Commercial Club of St. Paul.



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